6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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796 begins with surreptitious meetings at night in the nearby bush. There may be more men than women attending the ceremony, and 835 it may so happen that one woman will have a number of Kunapipi partners to whom she will go. Her husband realizes that this period is charged with social effervescence, so that her indulgence is viewed as a conventional expression, and as an important element in the atmosphere of general goodwill. Some women, however, prefer to wait until the last night, being emotionally excited, then, to an abnormal degree. Prior to this final stage, there is general exchange [832] of obscenities and erotic allusions between men and women, and between the proposed Kunapipi partners.

Two or three nights before the finale the men return to the sacred 796 ground, and sitting around the fires begin to sing parts of the Kuna- 535 pipi cycle relating to ceremonial copulation. The women come into 786 the ground, some decorated with feathered string headbands. All [301] women may attend, but only those decorated and ochred are "to dance for coitus". Their special form of dancing is called *ngamamali*; they dance before the singing men. They dance the bandicoot dance, hitting their legs together to make a rhythmic sound that blends with the song and the beating sticks.

Then the head Kunapipi woman, a tribal sister or father's sister of the male leader, dances forward, leading the other women[12] back towards the main camp. As they dance along they call out, in just the same way as the men in the *djunggawon* do when they enter the main camp. And like those men, the women too symbolize Julunggul moving towards the Wauwalak. Instead of calling it Julunggul or *gundaru* as the men do, the women call it Kitjin. "But it is the same Dreaming Snake, even though it is called by a different name: for the women call it Kitjin so that we (the men) won't know the real meaning." They turn away again from the main camp and return to the sacred ground, calling out their sacred term, Kitjin! Kitjin! and warning the men: "Don't call this name, or watch us;[13] don't come [778] close and see us, or your bellies will come up like pregnant women". And the men sit down quietly, with heads bent, for they may not look directly at the dancing women: the women are *mareiin* (sacred), just like the dancers in a totemic ceremony.

12. It is said that all these women are "big women", and none are young girls. No young boys are present, for the initiates are at one end of the ground "asleep", or covered up with paperbark or blankets; children are left in charge of the old women or young girls who have remained in the main camp.

This really means that the women attending the Kunapipi are married; the young girls are those who are unmarried, betrothed, or who have not yet [881] reached puberty. We are not discussing in this context ritual defloration of [836] young girls, as an adjunct of the Kunapipi, just prior to or on their attaining puberty.

13. That is, the men cannot look straight at the dancing women, "we are frightened of the power they have". Actually, however, they do see them dancing forward.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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The leader then erects two emblems, which she and her companion have made secretly out in the bush. One is a post, consisting of paperbark bound together with twine, and resembling a smaller undecorated edition of the men's *jelmalandji*: this is the Kitjin or Julunggul Snake. The other emblem is a pole, sometimes red-ochred and decorated, which represents a stringy-bark tree. Both objects are stood upright in the ground, some distance from the men, who are said to be "like young boys being shown their first sacred ceremony".

Then, lifting up the Kitjin (or sometimes using another paperbark-bound object), the head woman hits the stringy-bark tree emblem, so that pieces of paperbark fly across the ground. This symbolizes the lightning sent by Julunggul while the Wauwalak were in their hut: the lightning "split" (that is, struck) a stringy-bark tree, and pieces of wood flew in every direction. It was from one of these pieces that the sacred bullroarer was made (*vide* Chapter III).

This procedure may vary in different areas, depending on the length of the Kunapipi. The women may perform their ritual further away from the men, but still near the sacred ground; and men may be forbidden to see their dancing, or the emblems they erect. After their own ceremony, they may then come on to the sacred ground and dance before the men. In some cases, too, this section is omitted.

Finishing their Kitjin dancing, they return to the *ngamamali*, and form a dancing line before the men, who now look up and begin to sing. While the women dance, various men stand up and walk over to their Kunapipi partners, and hand them presents of food, string or ochre; a woman will keep some of this herself, but may pass some on to her husband. It is at this time too that much joking takes place, and the bolder of the women (those who have gone through the Kunapipi before) make obscene gestures, holding open their labia majora, slapping their thighs, or taking up a piece of stick and holding it erect like a man's penis and moving it up and down as in coitus. When the dancing is over, the men and women return to the camp, while some copulate[14] on their way back; although they should not have coitus until the last night, it is generally recognized that this does occur after such erotic dancing.

14. At Yirrkalla no special position is preferred during the act; this depends principally on the couple concerned. However, the usual positions taken, in the Kunapipi rite, are as follows: A woman lies full length on the ground with her legs apart; her partner lies between them and directly upon her, holding her around the neck, while she clasps her hands at his back. Or the woman may sit on the ground, well back on her buttocks, the trunk of her body leaning back supported on her arms. Her legs are flexed and open; the man puts his legs under her and his hands around her, so that his penis enters further and their genitalia are closer together than if he lay upon her.

Vide Chapter V, where the special position taken in coitus on the sacred ground is mentioned and reproduced in a native drawing.

In some regions, as along the Roper River, there is the belief that a man's body may not touch the woman's during coitus. During the act he suspends

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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of the ground, but is careful not to look over towards his wife. 796
Both of these variations are known at Yirrkalla, but are recog- 786
nized as taking place outside their own Kunapipi area.
A man or woman will rarely refuse the ritual Kunapipi obligations 837
of having coitus, or giving and receiving presents. Their frank attitude towards the question of sexual relations, and their understanding of the importance of such ritualized copulation, predetermines their full acceptance. Moreover, there is an obvious content of enjoyment, for both men and women are stimulated by the pre-coitus dancing and interchange of jokes. Should there be refusal, [832] caused perhaps by the dislike of a certain Kunapipi partner, that man or woman is soon obliged to conform, for the thwarted partner will threaten to send Julunggul to the other and so cause sickness. [753]
The initial incestuous relations of the Wauwalak Sisters with [773] clansmen, as we have seen, are cited in explanation of this ceremonial copulation.[15] There is also the deeper intent of fertility: the [789] symbolic spiritual fructification of the Mother. There is a tendency to regard this sexual exchange of wives as providing an element of "danger"; for here are men and women copulating with the wives and husbands of others, virtually under their eyes and with one another's full (that is, in theory) sanction, and in "older times" with [835] tabu-ed relatives. All is made possible on the sacred ground, under the "divine" sanction of the great Ancestral Beings and the Mother. The inclusion of ceremonial copulation in the Kunapipi is said to "raise its status to that of *mari* (mother's mother's brother, of the older generation)", but not to the high position retained by the *ngu:rlmak*, or the *dua* and *jiritja nara* Djanggawul and Laintjung rituals.

* * * *

On the morning following the ritual intercourse, the final group of 796
Kunapipi ceremonies is performed.
Just before dawn, all the *dua* men assemble at one end of the sacred 881
ground, and the *jiritja* men at the other. The women have returned 778
to the main camp, and the young initiates are sitting with their guardians. All the men are painted with white paint, spraying it over [302] one another from their mouths; and most have spears. They begin to clap their spears, one against the other, and dance towards each other, changing sides. The bullroarers begin to twirl at this juncture, and the women answer their sound from the main camp. The men's [535] dancing continues till sunrise, when the two moiety groups dance down to the boundary between the ceremonial ground and the main [616] camp, taking the young boys with them. Here, to the accompaniment of the bullroarers' sound and ritual calling, they erect the

15. *Vide* L. Warner, *op. cit.* pp. 307–8, who also provides a native interpretation of this aspect.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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. , ." — (Djanggawul and Wauwalak mythology). In any case, a cult such as the Kunapipi, which stresses fertility and reproduction, could not exclude women; as is normal in these matters, a certain sphere of ceremonial activity is allotted to each sex, while the women realize the important part played by their divine counterpart, the Wauwalak. 562 796 794

In the Kunapipi, however, women enter the sacred ground of the men; this is a feature that rarely occurs in the ceremonies associated with other cults. Upon entering the ground, the women themselves become more definitely *marelin* (sacred); "they take over from the men, and dance before them as if the men were only novices being introduced to their first sacred rituals". They re-enact something of what they themselves initially possessed in the mythological period, and what was stolen by the men. They use the sacred symbol of Julunggul, and the tree that was split by his lightning, and through their actions they represent the origin of the men's sacred bullroarer which no woman is supposed to see. They dance the ritual of the great Python, "and the men hang their heads in fear".[17]

On the termination of this ceremony, the women dance the lewd bandicoot dance on the sacred ground before the men, expressing symbolically the basic intent of the Kunapipi. They are stimulating both themselves and the men in order to carry out sexual intercourse, for copulation is the means by which fertility is achieved.

This brings us to an aspect that cannot be considered in detail here; that is, the problem of religious sexuality.[18] By this we mean the degree in which sex, as a stimulatory factor, enters into Kunapipi ritual. In most sacred aboriginal cult life, where sexual subjects are dealt with frankly and freely, there is no suggestion of actual individual stimulation, or of arousing the sexual inclinations of the participants: the ritual merely re-enacts some specific aspect of mythology which is related to erotic activity or coitus, and which is necessary for its effective completion, and for achieving the desired intent. The actors only carry out the symbolism associated with sexual activity. The arousing of sexual desire by sacred acting of this type would project into it a profane and irreligious content that would immediately detract from its real intent. Allowance for sexual stimulation by dancing, acting and singing has been made in the case of love magic ritual, or of collective male and female secular ceremonies that heighten sexual feelings and permit licence. 794 796 831 [832] [786]

17. This ceremony held by the women is similar to their secret magico-religious rituals in central-western Northern Territory. It is one aspect of the *tjuruda*, which has its sacred and secular expressions. From these secret rituals of the women, men are traditionally, and in present practice, excluded. *Vide* C. H. Berndt, *Women's Changing Ceremonies in Northern Australia*, L'Homme, Cahiers d'Ethnologie, de Geographie et de Linguistique, 1, Paris, 1950, pp. 1-85, text figs. See particularly Chapter V. [184] [113]
18. *Vide* R. and C. Berndt, *Sexual Behaviour in Western Arnhem Land*, Chapter IV, Section XII.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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794 796 832 In the Kunapipi, however, a certain degree of sexual stimulation does occur, and is apparently sanctified, although it does not detract from the underlying religious content of the ritual. Sexual expression in the Kunapipi is conventionalized, and individual inclinations are channelized according to recognized standards and rules. There is no suggestion of an uncontrolled orgy; men and women, prior to and during ceremonial copulation, are stimulated to an inordinate degree, but they find an outlet for this in coitus with defined Kunapipi partners. Furthermore, this is not idle sensuality, catering merely for individual pleasure. And although this aspect is found outside the sacred ground in the Kunapipi ceremonial period, during intercourse between men and women who may or may not be Kunapipi partners, the sexual act is in this case unrelated to ritual or ceremony and is simply secular. On the sacred ground, between Kunapipi partners, the sexual act assumes sanctity: the participants are invested with a sacred aura, while the act itself is ritualized and substantiated by the religious doctrine. The act of coitus is carried out for a specific purpose; and individual pleasure, whether present or not, is incidental.

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
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cicatrix across his chest. These raised shiny ridges stand out like cords, and once they have healed they seem to cause no inconvenience. Clay is rubbed into the wound so that it will heal slowly, and the mutilated flesh becomes a raised ridge. Men with sufficient vanity treat any accidental wound in this manner, and produce broad, irregular raised areas and cicatrices over their bodies. The Stone Age warrior is proud of his cicatrices and regards them as a form of beauty. Burramurra told me that they are a sign of manliness, and added: 'When women see a man with rows of long thick cicatrices across his chest they are attracted by the glamour.'

Arm-bands are woven from split cane and string and are adorned with opossum fur or birds' feathers; everyone seems to wear from one to a dozen of them. Cane armlets are the most common; they are tight fitting and are usually worn till they fall to pieces. Men's muscles swell round them; as children grow, armlets become so tight and painful that they chafe the skin and have to be cut away. Mothers and fathers decorate their children with armlets and string corselets, which are said to prevent illness and sores.

Vast quantities of string and rope resembling raffia are made from the inner bark of several trees. Varieties include string as fine as cotton, fishing-lines, rope for turtle and dugong harpoons, and two-inch cable for mooring canoes. In the making of string it is a common sight to see an old man squatting in the sand and pulling the hairs off the inside of his thigh and then picking out three fibres of bark and spreading them on his hairless thigh. With a hand on the fibres he rolls them toward him and finally with a quick thrust of the wrist he reverses the action and rolls them forward, uniting them into a single string. Fresh fibre is added as required, till in about an hour fifty or sixty feet of uniform string is completed. Harpoon and heavy ropes are